1: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

The Welcome

in front of my tent, everything is ready to give me welcome. Salim stands alone in front of the tent, and answers my *salám 'alaikum*, for it would not do for his womenfolk to appear in the presence of my hired driver and the shaikh's *fidáwi*, Sa'ud. They can, however, be seen discreetly peeping from their tent.

My goods and chattels are next unpacked, and I proceed to get things shipshape. Whilst Jawad is putting together my camp bed, and opening up my bedding, coffee is brought and served.

As soon as the coast is clear, and the menfolk are safely ensconced in their tent, in creeps the gentle-eyed and sweet-voiced Amsha to bid me welcome in the reception portion of my black goat-hair tent. She walks in gracefully, and in her low contralto voice bids me, "Al guwa ya Abu Sa'ud" (Strength to you, O father of Sa'ud), the usual salutation among the womenfolk. "'Allah i gauichi ya Um Hussa" (God give you strength, O mother of Hussa) I reply, and then follows a host of welcoming sentences, such as, "How are you? How is Um Sa'ud? What news of the Khatuna (the wife)? and Sa'ud and Zahra (my children) how are they? Well, well, I hope. What is doing in Kuwait, and what news of rain?" etc. Amsha is followed by Maneira, the Mutairiyah, helper in the house, and Hussa, Amsha's daughter of fifteen (recently veiled to show she is now a woman and of marriageable age). Then the daughters of Dhuwaihi the herdsman, and of Maziad, the Dhafiri, and last of all comes coal-black little Mubarak, the negro slave's little boy—Barruk they call him in terms of endearment. The other little curly-headed boy, Marzuk or Mzairik, his brother, is still with the lambs a quarter of a mile away, and so is Hamud, Maneira's small son.

The women, led by Amsha, sit round me in a circle, all asking after me and all wanting to know something. Little Hussa, whom I have known since she was seven years old, encouraged by her mother, comes and sits by my side after holding up her *burga* a moment for me to kiss her dimpled mouth. She has mother's permission to do this, even though she is now fifteen and a grown woman, for have I not known her since she was a little child? After this preliminary, she retires again and sits by her mother's side, keeping that silence which all well-behaved Badawin children maintain when their elders are present. Only shy little Barruk comes up

l: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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to, and the type may be called, for lack of a better description, Badawin in the transition stage to a more settled existence.

These 'Arabdar, certainly in Kuwait, usually have large flocks of sheep, and only a few camels to give them milk and move their tents as they follow the grazing. Many of them are of good Sharif stock such as 'Ajman, Mutair, 'Utaiba and Harb 'Arabdar; and their members go and come from the towns to their original tribes, and regularly intermarry with their desert cousins.

The good 'Arabdawi is not necessarily looked down upon by the pure Badawin, especially if he is of good stock, but the latter undoubtedly think him rather a soft sort of semi-townsman, who has grown rich in the service of a town ruler, and prefers the fleshpots of *hadhar* life to the real hardships of the desert. They, the 'Arabdawi, are in short a sort of half-Badawin, to be made use of by the pure-bred article, when the latter comes up to town to purchase his needs. The Arabdawi is also a useful go-between in business transactions involving sheep and camels, and at all times is rather proud to act as host and put up his Badawin brother who asks for a night's lodging in the city.

Akaluna al Badu, is a common cry heard among the 'Arabdawis of Kuwait, yet they get prestige and honour among their neighbours, whenever they put up these desert cousins, especially their shaikhs. These half-Badawin 'Arabdar are generally peaceful, for war does not pay them. As their wealth lies in their sheep rather than in their camels, there is no inducement for them to raid, and lift other people's camels, the temptation *par excellence* of the Badawin raider, who is himself so vulnerable. Nevertheless, the 'Arabdawi is an excellent fighting man if it comes to supporting his shaikh or defending the town he depends on.

There is yet another desert dweller who must not be confused with either the pure Badawin nomad, or his 'Arabdar cousin. This is the tribal desert shepherd, whose job in life is to care for the sheep either of the town dwellers or of the more well-to-do tribal shaikhs. As sheep cannot keep pace with camel migrations, and the areas in which they can graze are much more circumscribed or narrowly defined than those wandered over by the camel tribes, a class of shepherds has evolved, who move in areas of their own, but who are allied to

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619 (1) *In Hasa and Kuwait* (East Arabia).

565 The 'Awazim tribe, probably of Hutaim origin, and originally a serf-community of the 'Ajman.

The Rashaida Tribe—certainly of Hutaim origin; originally serfs of the Mutair, and retainers of the Shaikhs of Kuwait from earliest times.

(2) *In North-West Arabia.*

The Hutaim—A large and very powerful group of tribes, who generally acknowledge the overlordship of Shaikhs Ibn Barak and Ibn Naumas. (The Shararat tribe, for instance, forms part of the great Hutaim group.)

(3) *All over North and North Central Arabia.*

The Sulubba—The lowest, most despised of desert men, and said to be descendants of the Christian Crusaders. Great guides and hunters. (See Chapter XLI.)

(4) *Central and North Arabia.*

The Aqail or Agail*—residents of Qasim and Baghdad. From time immemorial camel-dealers of the desert.

The great house of Al Bassam are Aqailis.

[326] (5) Not to be confused with the above, are the Al Sana,† a community of ironmongers, farriers and arms-repairers, sections of whom each Sharif tribe protects and possesses as part of itself. *Sanna* is the plural of *Sana*, e.g. Sanna al Mutair, Sanna al Rashid, etc.

[582] No Sharif Arab can take a daughter from (or give a daughter to) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) above. His own tribe would not tolerate it, and his relations would kill the offender. The excuse would be that he [628] was spoiling the tribe's blood. Everyone will remember the shooting of the capable 'Abdullah Beg al Sana, Governor of Baghdad in 1932, by His Excellency 'Abdullah Beg al Falah Pasha al Sa'adun, because of the former's foolish attempt to marry the Europeanised daughter of His Excellency 'Abdul Muhsin al Sa'adun, Prime Minister of Iraq. The true Arab of the desert, from Bin Sa'ud downward, not only condoned the murder, but highly approved it.

361 * The Aqail or Agail are, of course, not a Bedawin tribe in any sense of the word, for they live in the towns. They more correctly should be termed a *hadhar* community.

† Members of this class have often risen to the highest positions of trust under various Arab Rulers as well as under the Turks.

k: Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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Ma'adan

582 591 It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman, even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharif Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

619 In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Badawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharif tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashira) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or ÁL)

[619] (*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al*.

Ál is like the term "Bani", e.g. Bani Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Wain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Naẓlin fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 601 551 A man says *Ya 'Aiyál* when addressing his sons or his family as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Aiyál?* when enquiring after the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'aiyál* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal [576] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

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576 592 601 551 A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi wardkum?* (How is the person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.

Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 613 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indicate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahîn section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

613 582 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Âl Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

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Male Line of Descent

(1) *Bani 'Ám.* According to Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the 'Ajman, who discussed this with me on 11th August, 1935, the members of every tribe or section of a tribe which have a common male ancestry are known as Bani 'Ám, *lit.* the children of one uncle. The Mutair and 'Ajman are more strict than others about the interpretation of the above, he said, and carry it to the seventh generation of ascendants. Beyond that, he added, genealogies were rather vague. Only blood relationship on the father's side (*'Amam*) gives the right of Bani 'Ám or Ibn 'Ám, and not the relationship on the mother's side, which is known under the name of *Khawál.*

A man in trouble can always rely on his *'Amam* to come to his assistance. They must do this regardless of consequences—and so must a tribe which has such relationship with another, the 'Ajman-Murra tribes for instance.

The 'Ajman and Murra were continually at each other's throats in the past, and raided and counter-raided in merry fashion, but when an outside enemy attacked the one, all private feuds were put aside, and the two united in resisting the attack. The reason was that they were descended from the common ancestor Yam and so were *Bani 'Ám.*

The families of Ibn Sa'ud, Ibn Subah, Ibn Khalifa and Abal Khail of Qassim are all *Bani 'Ám,* and so can always be counted on, in any serious difficulty, to come to one another's help. They are all 'Anizah, descended from the same distant ancestor.

A man's *Khawál,* his maternal relations, are of course useful, especially in offering sanctuary, but they are not under the same obligations as a man's *Bani 'Ám.*

'Amam al rajál, akṯar min khawálu is a well-known saying. This explains happenings which sometimes mystify the European. A man marries a woman from another tribe; she proves unfaithful (the instance I am describing has to my knowledge happened among 'Arabdar and Hadhar persons of Kuwait), the husband does not seem to mind much, but hints to the wife's *'Amam* that she is not all that she should be. They, being her *Bani 'Ám,* kill her, but do not enlist the outraged husband. She is slain to clear the family's good name, and to enable them to hold up their heads in the *majlis arjal,* or counsels of men. Should a couple have children, a son and a daughter, and the daughter happens to disgrace the family, then either the

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
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613 father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the
627 dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her
604 *walad 'ám*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and
593 do the deed.

613 Between *bani 'ám* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man
604 must never seize and bind one of his *'emam* even though he be a
721 thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'emam* by a *dawn*
628 attack or raid him after *midnight*. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *bani 'ám* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiya*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'ud, Al Dushan, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. (See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'ÁM

601 (2) *Walad 'Am*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'ÁM

613 (3) *Bint 'Am*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—
582 on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.
[601] A man always has the right to marry his *bint 'ám*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'ám*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

h. Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

CHAPTER VIII

Marriage and Divorce

MARRIAGE

582 A Badawin is not allowed to marry:

The divorced wife of his son.
His son's widow.
His wife's mother.
His brother's daughter.
His sister's daughter.
His foster sister.
A girl of a tribe that is considered inferior to his own, such as 'Awazim, Sana, Sulubba. (See Chapter VI and Appendix XIII.)

Inferior Badawin, of course, intermarry at will with other inferior tribes.

[162] The marriage laws among the Badawin tribes of Arabia are simple in the extreme and effectually settle the problem, so acute in the West, of what to do with the excess female population. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that in Arabia, owing to the interminable wars and intertribal hatreds that exist, women are and have always been greatly in excess of the men.

In the first place, marriage and divorce are extremely easy. Every youth on first reaching the age of manhood expects his parents to find a mate for him. Similarly a husband must be found for a girl the moment she reaches puberty.

684 First-cousin marriage is the invariable rule. A girl belongs of right
682 to the son of her father's brother (*ibn 'am*) unless he expressly renounces his right to marry her. Even in this case she may not marry without his permission. If the girl breaks this rule or her parents prevail on her to marry someone else, her rightful lord will murder her if he can. This is the cause of most of the tribal killings of women, especially in Iraq.

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Badawin Love Affairs

RIGHTS OF IBN 'ÁM

If a girl refuses to be wedded to her *ibn 'ám*, he may slay her without becoming liable to pay blood money in compensation. 634 582

If the *ibn 'ám* knows that his cousin does not want him, being already in love with someone else, he can forbid (*haiyyir 'alaiha*) the marriage, and the girl may die a spinster.

If a girl loves another and her father dies, she has a chance of getting her freedom from her *ibn 'ám* who is *haiyyiring* her ("hajjir" is the correct technical term for keeping her to himself), if she goes and begs her freedom immediately after her father's death: "My father has died, I want thee to release me in return for my father who has passed away", she says. In such case the *hajjir* is expected to be generous and release her—but he is not bound to do so. If he refuses her only remedy is to elope. She then flees with her lover to a distant land or tribe, and there marries him after putting herself and her husband under the protection of a shaikh. She remains in constant danger from her cousin, however. Her husband is considered as guilty as a murderer and can only secure his life by the payment of blood money. [627]

Should a Badawin elope with and marry a "white slave girl" (e.g. Circassian, Georgian or Armenian) or a girl of inferior tribe (he can on no account marry a slave and defile the tribe's blood), he can never return again to his kin; they will kill him. [588]

It is the duty of every Badawin to marry and procreate. The more children he possesses, the more powerful his kinsmen. He would be expelled the tribe were he to refuse to do his duty in this respect. Without his kin a Badawin would be the most miserable of outcasts. Musil brings this out clearly in his book, *Manners and Customs of the Ruwala Bedouins*. 581

There are, of course, cases where a man sees a girl, not his cousin, and falls madly in love with her. If she herself is not bound to her *ibn 'ám* a regular courtship follows, the man finding opportunity of meeting when she is looking after the camels or the sheep, much as our own youths and maidens do. I have known very violent love affairs of this type, and the Badawin loses his head over his lass quite as much as the ordinary English youth, if not more.

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Bedouins MJ4

566 619 142 361 In cast of countenance they would appear to be definitely non-Arab, and have none of the pronounced Semitic features of the latter. In areas like Kuwait and Zubair, where they always maintain a large permanent camp outside the city walls, they are sometimes taken by Europeans for ordinary Badawin. This is a bad mistake and leads at times to awkward situations.

582 595 No Arab can marry a Sulubba girl. He would be killed by his people if he did, and she also. Nevertheless, I have heard it said that the Amir Fawaz of the Ruwala has no compunction in taking a pretty Sulubba maiden into the desert and keeping her as his mistress. For this he is roundly cursed by all good Badawin.

622 565 619 Most Sulubba settlements have their headmen, but where they are in strength among the major tribes of Arabia they have their shaikhs, some of whom own large flocks and herds of camels and are up to a point highly respected.

For instance:

Shaikh Hamad ibn Shennut is the Shaikh of the Murair Sulubba.
Shaikh Mutallij al Safi is the Shaikh of the Shammar Sulubba.
Shaikh Muhammad ibn Jilad is the Shaikh of the Amarat Sulubba.
Shaikh Ma'aithif is the Shaikh of the Ruwala Sulubba.

291 The Sulubba women never veil and rarely wear a *milfa* over the lower part of their faces. Hence in Najd they are at once recognisable.

595 They are very fond of dancing, and on any feast day or at a marriage ceremony, the first thing they do is to organise a dance. This takes the form of men and women dancing together (a highly disgraceful and unseemly thing among Arabs), at which the men every now and then kiss their partners on the mouth and before the audience.

619 The Sulubba has among his ceremonies, dances, etc., the strange custom of hoisting a cross made from two pieces of wood tied together in the form of a Christian emblem. It may be called his tribal mark or standard.

565 619 174 Well-read Arabs, like Shaikh 'Abdullah Salim al Subah, cousin of the Shaikh of Kuwait, and others, say quite definitely that the Sulubba are descendants of the large number of Crusader camp followers, who were taken captive during the Crusade and Saracen wars; that vast numbers of these camp followers were taken in several great battles

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Appendix XIII

6. Hijáz	.. .. ..	Tussun Pasha, 1811	} of Egypt.
7. Hijáz	.. .. ..	Mohomed 'Ali Pasha, 1815	
8. Qasím and Najd	.. ..	Ibrahim Pasha, 1817	
9. Asír	.. .. ..	Ahmad Pasha of Turkey, 1835.	
10. Hasa	.. .. ..	Turkish expedition under Mazʻaid Pasha as Saʻadun from Iraq, 1871–2.	
11. Qasím	.. .. ..	Turkish expedition from Iraq, 1903–5.	
12. Madain Salih and Wadi Sirhan		Lawrence's operations during Great War, 1916–18.	

APPENDIX XIII

MARRIAGE BETWEEN SHARÍF AND NON-SHARÍF ARABS

On 17th January, 1938, Shaikh Mirshid ibn Twála of the Shammar, in discussing whom a pure Arab could marry, told me that an Arab like himself could not possibly marry a Sulubbi girl, or an 'Awazim, Rashaida or Hutaim lass. His people, the Shammar, would kill him if he did.

He added that it was true that the Amir 'Abdul 'Aziz al Rashid, ruler in Hail, had once lost his head and enjoyed for a few hours only a beautiful Sulubbi maiden, as he supposed, *without the knowledge of anyone*. He did not even marry her, but took her sinfully, added Mirshid. What was the result? The news got about, and Ibn Shurraim and all his tribe left him —*Ibn Twála and all his followers did likewise and moved north into Iraq*. Agáb ibn 'Ijil and his Abda sections did the same, never to come back. In fact all the Saiyah group of Shammar in protest deserted their hereditary lord in a body.

Apart from marriage with a low-born Arab woman, certain trades considered dishonourable for a pure-bred Arab to take up were forbidden him. These included, said Shaikh Mirshid, ironmongering (Sána trade), carrying and making salt, burning *jass* (lime), skinning animals and curing the skins, and burning charcoal.

To quote an example: Shaikh Mubarak found a very poor man of 'Anizah extraction burning *jass* one day. He sent for him and upbraided him, saying that he should not do a low-born Arab's work. The man, a very poor man, replied that he had to make his living, for he had a family to support,

13: Thesiger T-3 (ca. 1949) 1950 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Bedouin MJ4

further than this, for none of them wishes to get a reputation for being a quarrelsome or trying companion, and so, when there is anything to do, they all jump up and offer to do it, whether it is to look for a camel, gather wood, or make coffee. Their life is ruled by conventions, and public opinion sees to it that these conventions are observed. In the desert there is no privacy. Every action is seen, and you might say every word is overheard, for they always live crowded together for safety; in any case, they are the most observant people in the world, and everything that happens, however trivial, is noted and later repeated and discussed, so that something which a man has said or done on the coast of the Persian Gulf will be spoken of months later, hundreds of miles away on the borders of the Yaman.

Another difference between Badu and villagers is the way they treat their animals. No Badui would ever knock his camel about; it is far too precious, and in any case he is much too deeply attached to it. You will often see him fondling and kissing his camel, and he will generally be hunting round for titbits for it. Badui, indeed, will always sacrifice their own comfort to that of their animals. Some years ago, when we arrived in the Hadhramaut out of the desert, I remember the enormous meals which were provided for us, such as my always hungry companions cannot even have dreamed of; yet next day they were frantic to get back to the desert where there would be proper grazing for their animals. Sometimes, looking at a wonderful view, I have said to a Badui, "Isn't that lovely?" and he has looked round for a bit and answered, "No, it is rotten bad grazing," and he saw nothing else, whereas if he had been a Persian he would have rhapsodized over it.

Yet they are passionately fond of poetry. They are a noisy, talkative race. I think many of them would find it as hard to stop talking as a heavy smoker to stop smoking, but they will sit for hours in silence if someone is reciting poetry. They are also deeply religious, and in their hard lives they derive at all times a profound comfort from their faith. Townsmen often scoff at them and say that they are little better than pagans because they do not observe all the ritual of Islam and are sometimes lax over their prayers and fasting, but you cannot be with them without realizing what an integral part of their everyday lives their religion is. A Rashdi once described to me how alone he had crossed the trackless wastes of the Eastern sands for 450 waterless miles. Astounded that anyone should have ventured on such a journey unaccompanied, I asked him, "Do you really mean that you were by yourself?" and he answered me quite simply, "God was my companion."

The Badu are the product of their environment, and it is the constant struggle for survival which has fashioned them as they are. Security is unknown to them and their rewards are at all times pitifully small. At any moment drought, disease, or raiders may sweep their herds away. Yet, tempered from childhood by wind and sun, they face life unflinchingly. In this harsh and barren land the desert lad mates only with the desert maid, for who else would share the Badu's couch amongst the wind-blown sand? For centuries they have guarded the purity of their blood with the dagger, and they are fine-drawn, highly strung, and unstable as thoroughbreds.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M535
Bedouin M84
Arabs M10

B 601 the father's or the mother's family. Should a man's father have married into his own patrilineage the mother's patrilineal family, however, is generally referred to by the terms given to paternal relatives.

B 602 Kinship behaviour is characterized by a respect-relationship towards older generations. There is also a kind of avoidance between certain in-laws known as *asib* (male) or *asiba* (female). The avoided relatives in-law are the following:— father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, younger brother's wife, younger sister's husband, older brother of spouse, older sister of spouse. Other in-laws known as *hamun* (male) or *hamuna* (female) are not avoided; these are:— older sister's husband, younger brother of spouse, older brother's wife, younger sister of a spouse (cf. Miner 1953, p. 146). When B 582 the levirate is practised a wife can marry a younger brother of her deceased husband, but not his elder brother, just as in the case of the sororate a man can marry a younger sister of his deceased wife but not her elder sister. Thus marriage between persons of the same generation is not permitted should there already be an established avoidance relationship between them. People involved in an avoidance relationship cannot marry.

B 582 584 An interesting and much discussed trait of Arab social organization is preferential marriage with a father's brother's daughter. Most Arabs I have questioned claimed her to be the most suitable spouse, but they also said that for various reasons other types of marriage frequently took place. It might happen, for example, that marriage of this preferential type was not contracted because of conflict between the two families in question. But the factor which frequently leads to marriages of types other than that with a father's brother's daughter seems to be the following:— In an Arab family, the father has the decisive, final word in choosing spouses for his children. The children when contracting a first marriage are forced to marry the persons chosen by their father. Even so, however, the choice is frequently the result of the mother's initiative for she knows the young girls far better than does her husband. She is able to visit them, can talk freely to them, and she knows their characters and their abilities. A husband will therefore often give way to his wife's wishes even if she chooses a maternal cousin or some girl other than the father's brother's daughter.

B 582 I have already mentioned certain relatives with whom marriage is forbidden when the levirate and the sororate are practised. There are many other kinswomen whom a man is not allowed to marry, namely:— all kinswomen of the parents' and the grandparents' generations, brother's daughter, brother's daughter's daughter, brother's son's daughter, sister, sister's daughter, sister's daughter's daughter, sister's son's daughter.

A T 177 The Arabs I know best are those who live in Tuareg country, and some of them have been much influenced by Tuareg social customs. Many of these Arabs are bi-lingual, speaking of their kinsmen both in Arabic and in Tuareg. Sometimes they seem to be in doubt whether it is better to marry a father's brother's daughter than a cross-cousin. The *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, who lead a pastoral life in Ahaggar and are much mixed with the Tuareg, pay bride-wealth like the vassal Tuareg tribes, but this is not so with *Ahl Azzi* Arabs who are sedentary and live at Tamanrasset. These sedentary Arabs never give camels for bride-wealth, but instead certain articles of dress and ornaments, the price of which is about 25,000 French francs, equivalent in value to a camel. A less comprehensive dowry is given by the bride's father. The food expenses connected with a marriage are paid in part by the groom or his father, and in part by the bride's father. The sedentary agriculturists, the *Harratin* (*Ikaggaren*),